302 884 seventeen and still not married, then her parents will usually set a date to hold a ceremony for the girl to have her braid parted and doubled. During the ceremony they kill sheep, pigs, and other animals to entertain relatives and friends. It signifies that henceforth the girl has come of age and can have sexual freedom without interference.

836 Whether in a forest or thicket, whether beside the mountain stream or in wild fields, a young Lolo male and female could make love to each other. Provided that they do not violate marriage traditions, unmarried male and female could have affairs among themselves. This is especially true of cross-cousins who, because of their preferential marriage privilege and close contact due to kinship, could freely make love, and illicit affairs have always developed.

584 As a first step in marriage, the parents usually make the selection and then send a matchmaker to do the negotiating. Originally the matchmakers were mostly white Lolo slaves. If the paternal aunt or the maternal uncle has a daughter, matchmaking is fairly easy; there being mutual obligation on both sides, they dare not [56] make any commitment with another clan. After a mate has been chosen, the matchmaker [187] will get the consent of the girl's family to ask a pi-mu to match the horoscopes of the intended couple and to divine whether the marriage would be auspicious or not. If it is found to be unlucky, the matchmaker will not come back again. Sometimes, because of their kin relationship or because of the attraction of the girl's looks, the two families would disregard the result of fortune-telling or divination and proceed with the marriage anyway.

583 After both families have agreed to the marriage, the matchmaker then goes back and forth between the two to negotiate for the betrothal gift or money. The amount of cash to be paid by the man's family depends upon the family's financial ability. Generally, a black Lolo family pays a betrothal gift of from 500 to 700 or 800 ounces of silver. (At the time of the author's stay in Lei-po, one ounce of silver was equal to 160 dollars of Chinese national currency.) Sometimes the betrothal gift may be as much as 1,000 ounces. Because of their low social status, the white Lolo pay only 100 or 200 [567] ounces of silver. For the daughters of household slaves who accompany the mistress in marriage, no gift is necessary.

584 After the betrothal money is settled, then comes the engagement. First, the man's family sends the matchmaker and others of the household with gifts to the girl's family. At that time only a part of the betrothal money, usually about

231 The Lolo do not
[262] drink milk but eat beef. The killing of an ox is considered a big occasion.

[564] Horses are the monopoly of the black Lolo, but are not driven in herds. The black Lolo use them for riding and hunting or for sports and racing. [66] The horse is the most precious animal, and its meat is not eaten.

Oxen, horses, pigs, and sheep, which are the most important domestic animals of the Lolo, constitute a part of their property with considerable economic value. Except for
262 the horse, the meat of oxen, sheep, and pigs can all be used for food. The daily meal of the Lolo is ordinarily limited to grains and vegetables. As to meat they have a different method of distribution. During the several festivals each year, such
262 as the wool fair, the New Year, and the farewell party to the
574 Buddha, they have to kill animals for sacrifice, after which members of the family gather to share in the sacrificial meat. On occasions such as weddings and funerals, they also divide the meat as a gift and eat and drink together. In cases of sickness, exorcising, drought, and praying for rain, they use magic to stabilize the disturbed emotions of the people, while at the same time they kill animals as sacrifices and gather together the clan members for a big feast. From the practical point of view, this kind of festival and entertainment is a traditional social device to give the people an opportunity to have an equal share of meat.

224 The economic life of the Lolo is basically agricultural and pastoral. Hunting, however, is also practiced. Groups of young Lolo would sometimes roam the wild mountains and forests to hunt tigers, leopards, and deer. Before the expedi-
[187 tion they would consult the diviner on its result. The food
262] from the animals they have captured is enjoyed together.

In industry, the building of a new house is considered
342 a major event. First, the builder assembles his clan members and neighbors and in their presence selects a date for building. Then, as an expression of united effort and mutual help, they all work together to build the mud wall, the wooden frames, the roof, and finally the walled fortress. Crafts,
463 such as the making of capes, ornaments, furniture, agricultural tools, wooden utensils, bamboo baskets, etc., are usually done by one or two persons. Only enough products are made to meet local household needs.

438 House, farm, and other immobile property are handed down as a family inheritance from father to son. They are not traded as commodities on the market. On the other hand, cattle, agricultural products, clothing and ornaments, furniture,

628 578 complaints, thus giving rise to hostility between the two clans and leading eventually to mutual killing for revenge. Also the transfer of a woman's marriage partnership may cause some kind of complication that could develop into a clan feud. In the instance mentioned earlier, a murder occurred when the widow Hu from the Li-ch'ü family at Wu-chio refused a second marriage to Hu Ch'ang-pao. This so infuriated Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, Ch'ang-pao's mother's elder brother's son, that he went to attack Wu-chio. Furthermore, the refusal to return the betrothal money and gifts according to Lolo tradition upon the girl's death would also result in disputes between the man's and the girl's clans. Therefore it frequently happens in Lolo society that today two clans may become united as affinal relatives on friendly terms with each other, and then tomorrow, because of some misunderstanding, they quarrel, fight, kill each other, and eventually become clan enemies.

628 125 There is no definite formula for fighting clan feuds. Whenever one clan feuds with another, it assembles its members secretly to prepare for an attack. The Lolo are unlike the Australian natives who agree beforehand on the time and place as well as the number of participants on each side before they go to the field for the armed battle. On the other hand, the Lolo make surprise attacks, like the Andaman or Borneo natives. Before they strike, they make ceremonial preparations and band together for the invasion with the main objective of attacking the enemy village or post and of capturing enemy property and goods.

151 The Lolo believe in the efficacy of the amulet, which is always worn as a protective charm. Before attacking the enemy, the fighter usually takes some lamb hair, asks the pi-mu to pronounce charms and draw spells on it, then sews it on inside the underclothing; he also stays away from women. Within 21 days, the lamb hair should have the power to protect the fighter against knife or gun. Other articles, such as tiger's whiskers and the savage's hair and fingernails, are also used as amulets for body protection.

628 787 Before starting the fight, they first seek divination to inquire about their good or bad luck. There are various forms of divination, such as divination with wood or bones, or by killing a chicken or a pig. All these will be discussed in detail in the following chapter on magic. It suffices to explain here the relationship between clan-feud fighting and the practice of divination and magic. From the Lolo point of view, a victory or defeat in fighting is all foretold in the supernatural world by divine revelations that are not to be ignored.

The pi-mu is a unique figure in Lolo society and quite different from ordinary people in his responsibility. He specializes in religious and magic activities. There is at least one pi-mu in each village, either a black or a white Lolo, but at present most pi-mu are white Lolo. Only a male can become a pi-mu. He goes through a tutorial system, the only kind of formal instruction among the Lolo which requires learning and training. Tutorial instruction is usually handed down from father to son or from uncle to nephew as a family occupation. The pi-mu keeps in the family scriptural books, including those on ancestral legends, fortune-telling, divination, invocation, exorcism, praying for rain, and others, all transmitted and copied in Lolo. [95] The Lolo written language is not commonly used, and its preservation and transmission are to be credited mainly to the pi-mu.

Besides the pi-mu, there is another kind of magician called su-nieh. The su-nieh has no tutor. He is just an ordinary person possessed by a su-nieh ghost that causes sickness or loss of mind, but later, after having sacrificed to it a white sheep and a white chicken in the woods and having recovered from sickness, he becomes a su-nieh. Both men and women can become su-nieh, but the art is not transmittible and also scriptures do not exist. Ordinarily, when a su-nieh performs magic to cure sickness, he beats a sheepskin drum, whirls and dances — his whole body shivering and his mouth muttering chants — moves around and imprecates to the utmost of his ability.

Although the pi-mu and the su-nieh belong to different systems, they have the common aim of practicing magic. The duty of a pi-mu is very complicated, while that of a su-nieh is comparatively simple. We shall describe separately their work and performances to make clear the position of magic among the Lolo.

First, let us discuss divination, a form of divine revelation that foretells good or bad fortune. There are two opposite kinds of divination. The first kind is prediction made by the god through human mouth, or the communication of divine will by the priest in forecasting future developments — a type of divination practiced universally in Siberia, Africa, and Polynesia. The other kind is practiced through the observation of physical objects or of animal entrails, bones, skeletons, and other things. In order to foretell the future, the magician has to have strict technical training to enable him to observe the important positions and spots of animal bones and entrails. It is to this kind that the entire system of Lolo divination belongs.

•781 Although it can also be performed by ordinary persons, Lolo divination is practiced mostly by the pi-mu. On occasions such as weddings, funerals, sickness, traveling, hunting, and clan-feud fighting, divination is performed to forecast good or bad fortune. There are many forms of divination, of which it suffices to mention only a few to give a general idea. The commonest form is bone divination by means of roasted lamb shoulders. The pi-mu first takes a lamb shoulder, burns it on a grass fire, and then examines carefully the cracks formed on the bone to determine the good or bad omens for the occasion. The main form of the crack is usually shaped like a cross and can be divided into four lines: upper and lower, right and left. The left line represents oneself, the right line ghosts and evil spirits, the upper line the outside, and the lower line the inside. If the left line is straight and long, it presages good luck because this shows that the person himself is stronger than the evil spirit; the contrary denotes bad luck, in this case the ghost being stronger than he is. A lower part that is more clearly visible and straight than the upper also augurs good luck. In short, there are different kinds of detailed explanations for these cracks, from which one can get some idea of their significance. Bone divination also involves the examination of mottled spots on a pig's rib, as well as the outside and inside curves of the cartilage of a chicken's bill, all these signs presaging good or evil luck.

The pi-mu also kills chicken for divination. First, he recites the name of the person and the thing to be asked for, [96] then he kills the chicken and throws it outside the door to determine from the direction of its head the kind of luck the person will have. The direction outside represents ghosts and evil spirits and the direction inside, oneself; thus it presages good luck if the chicken's head faces outside and bad luck if it faces inside. If it faces neither side, or if it lies across, then it is even luck. Still more popular is divination with an egg, usually practiced to query the ghost about sickness. When the [155] author was in Lei-pao 雷波 he personally saw the pi-mu, Hu Chan-yün, rub the body of his patient with an egg; then, while reciting an incantation, he broke the egg in a bowl of water to examine the radiating points of the yoke to determine the kind of ghost that caused the illness.

Wood carving is another method of divination, used mostly to find out about traveling and fighting. In the former case, the simplest method is to take a strip or a slice of wood, recite the name of the person and the direction in which he will be traveling, and then use a knife to carve many marks on the

雷 [Errata. Should be Lei-po —Analyst.]

781 wood and a long line in the middle. The forecast is made by counting the number of carved stripes on the upper and lower sections, the upper representing ghosts and evil spirits, and the lower, oneself. An odd number betokens good luck, an even number, bad luck. If there happens to be an even number on the upper part and an odd number on the lower — a position which affirms one's strength and the ghost's weakness — then this will be considered an omen of supreme luck. While in Ta-liang Shan, the inspection team had a quarrel with A-cho Chê-chio and did not know which route, whether north or south, to take for the return trip. On the eve of the journey, our headman-protector, Li-chü Ta-chi, secretly asked a pi-mu to divine by wood carving and was told that the northern route was the lucky one. The author did not learn about it until afterwards from his interpreter, Wang Chü-sung, and regretted that he did not personally participate in this activity.

800 By foretelling fortune or misfortune, good or bad luck, divination is a kind of magic that controls destiny. Both religion and magic become effective in human life under intense emotional situations. By these are meant crucial points in a man's life, such as birth and marriage, sickness and death, business failure, clan-feud fighting and killing, as well as those irremediable moods of anger and hatred. Under these circumstances, there is no other outlet for human intelligence or experience but to rely upon faith and ritual as an escape into the realm of the supernatural. In agricultural enterprise, many primitive people, on the basis of their daily experience and common scientific knowledge, would perforce engage in burning the forest, plowing the fields, sowing and weeding, removing harmful insects, and driving away the birds and animals in order to get a good crop. But often the primitive people also make use of grain-shaped stones, which they bury in the earth in the hope of invoking these stones to increase the harvest. Since rain helps the growth of the grain during drought, the primitive people rely upon the ritual of praying for rain to control the weather. Therefore, in their minds, they conceive of science and magic as having a cause and effect relationship, but they cannot see clearly the dividing line between physical and supernatural worlds.

171 [97] Lolo religion is still in a primitive stage, intermingled and inseparable from magic, while all its practices lean heavily toward magical activities. Magic is based strictly on traditional techniques. It is believed that the goals to be sought would be attained if the techniques were applied correctly. Lolo magic, likewise, was created from the tensions of life and handed down from generation to generation.

789 because of unlucky portents, they also ask the pi-mu to perform magic to find out where the enemy has buried the bone so as to destroy the wicked plot. In brief, the Lolo use magic to fight magic, and the battle of magic coincides with and parallels the battle of weapons.

[715] 784 At the time of death, according to Lolo belief, a man's soul runs away from this world to another. Like many other primitive people, they regard death as an important juncture and crisis in life. During this turning-point, their emotions are not only tense but also complicated. During the burial ceremony are expressed on the one hand the respect and love for the dead and on the other hand a sense of fear that comes as a reaction to the decaying human body.

Practically all the people in the world have similar funeral rites attended by close relatives. When a member of the Lolo family breathes his last, not only the whole family mourns together, but all his relatives, neighbors, friends, and slaves come to offer condolences by presenting gifts of oxen, wine, and various other items. Then they wash the corpse, arrange his hair, dress him in new clothes and ornaments, and assemble for a round of crying and mourning, after which they kill oxen or sheep to feast and drink together.

● [787] The Lolo practice cremation. The entire corpse is burned after a person has been dead a day or two, or longer, the period to be determined by the pi-mu who selects the lucky date. They make a coarse wooden chair with two long boards on either side and a wooden plank across the middle — altogether nine pieces of wood for a man and seven pieces for a woman. The fully dressed corpse is then [100] placed on the wooden chair to be carried outside the house by four white Lolo slaves. Another slave in the front leads with a saddled horse and walks directly to the cremation ground to signify that the soul is departing on horseback. The place for burning the corpse is usually on a mountain at the back of the house. They spade a square piece of level ground, plant wooden stakes at the four corners, and on the forks above the stakes lay four horizontal pieces of wood as a scaffolding. Above it is placed a square plaited sieve of bamboo, on which is laid the wooden chair with the corpse. For the cremation, torches are lighted simultaneously on all four sides. When the flames rise, the Lolo outside the house immediately kill an ox with a big knife and beat the sheep to death with wooden poles in preparation for sacrificial offerings and a feast for the living.

[767 564] People who specialize in burning corpses are usually old and poor white Lolo, as most people are unwilling to take up this job.

3:Ma--4 E-5 (1943) 1944 AE 4 Lolo AE 4

(3) The Ritual of the Indoor Sacrifice

755 789 After the straw effigy was made, the Pai-mao placed a measure of grain by the doorsill inside the main entrance of the house. On one side of the grain was placed a bowl of rice, on which were an egg and a lump of salt; on the other side a cup of wine. Two cypress leaves were burned and dipped into a bowl of cold water to be used in the place of tea. Three cypress branches were stuck into the earth before the doorsill, on both sides of which stood chi-tsu and pu-tsu. While the branches were being stuck on the ground the human and horse effigies should face toward the house.

After the display the Pai-mao began his exorcising incantation. He first burned red hot a piece of rock, on which he threw water boiled in mulberry leaves. Over the rising vapor caused by the evaporation the priest held the sacrificial animal (pig, goat or chicken, depending upon the condition of the family), circling it around as he spat out a mouthful of wine on its body. This process is known as ta ts'u-tan, signifying the purification of the animal's body. With the Lolo, ta ts'u-tan is an important rite which must be held before the performance of any magic art. After this the Pai-mao, wielding a cypress wand, would mutter liturgies to drive away the evil 755 spirits. From their exorcising scriptures I have 787 gathered the following omens of disaster: 789

1. A dog barking or wailing without reason.
2. A mother hog giving birth to a litter of four male piglets.
3. A female animal eating up her newly born.
4. A horse neighing during the night.
5. The horse saddle creaking.
6. The cock crowing erratically or before daybreak.
7. A cock aroused while roosting.
8. A hen laying small eggs.
9. A crow cawing.

3:Ma--5 E-5 (1943) 1944 AE 4 Lolo AE 4

10. A pigeon roosting on the roof. 755
11. An ox tail circling round a tree trunk. 787
12. Snakes interweaving their tails. 789
13. Frogs mounting on each other's back.
14. A melon splitting by itself.
15. Insufficient crop yield.
16. Melon vines growing wild.
17. Portents in dreams.
    1. Marriage between parties not of the same generati[illegible].
    2. Man wearing clothes; woman discarding them.
    3. Dispatching soldiers toward evening with no road ahead.
    4. Feasting, dining and wining.
    5. Horseback riding.
    6. Fire burning by a man's pillow and things reduced to ashes by his feet.
    7. Woman breaking her ring or bracelet.
    8. Front teeth dropping off.

The above are evil portents to be shunned by the Lolo. When the Pai-mao recited liturgies 755 during the exorcising ceremony, he mentioned them 789 one by one regardless of whether the omens had already brought calamity to the dreamer or not. On reaching certain passages of the scripture the Pai-mao would toss out of the door the topmost cup of wine to offer to the evil spirit. At the same time another man, holding a young chicken (for the use of chick see my article "The Mythology of the Native Peoples in Yunnan," The Southwest Frontier Monthly, No.12) and a few stalks of rice straw, [29] would sweep the floor from the hall of worship to the animal stalls. Thus the evil spirits were swept off from all parts of the house as the Pai-mao continued with more incantations from the evil-exorcising scripture. The priest then turned the chi-tsu and pu-tsu around with their faces outward, showing that all the sins thus chanted

755 cypress branches is based upon a certain myth.
789 According to this story, in very early times when
773 heaven and earth were in a dark confusion and the people suffered greatly, the heavenly lord dispatched three Pai-mao to earth on the mission of rescuing the people. The priests rode on cow's backs, their scriptures tied to the horns of the cow. While crossing the ocean the scriptures got wet from the sea water, and so after reaching land the Pai-mao dried the books on the branches of a cypress tree. But the books stuck on the leaves and twigs, and a half of them were torn out. (Some say that it is the eagles that have clawed into the books; so today when the Pai-mao chants liturgies he wears a cap in the form of eagle's claws to represent the scriptures destroyed). Thus the scriptures used today represent only one half of the original, and the planted cypress branches are meant as a substitute for the lost books.

755 789 Having completed planting the sticks and the spirit seats, the Pai-mao began chanting liturgies to invoke the spirit of the mountain to receive the sacrifice and to watch over the welfare of the family. This mountain spirit is equivalent to the Chinese earth god, because he is the administrator of the area. In all outdoor sacrifices an animal is used (generally a cock for the mountain spirit); so he receives quite a substantial offering.

755 789 787 After the sacrificial ceremony divination was performed to find out whether it was good or bad fortune. Divination is an essential part of the sacrificial rite, and the method used by the Lolo is very simple. The Pai-mao used a mulberry stem about three inches in length and a half inch in thickness. [30] This was sharpened at one end into the shape of a wedge and then split into two halves to form a divining tablet. At the time of divination, it was smeared with some chicken blood or wine. As the Pai-mao mumbled liturgies he

threw the tablet on the ground. If one surface of the split tablet faces upward and the other downward, it would bring good fortune; otherwise it would be badfortune, and the whole process had to be started all over until good fortune appeared. 755 789 787

After good fortune was shown, the Pai-mao would then chant the scripture of sacrifice. The sacrifice itself took the following order: 755 789

1. Live Sacrifice. This was the sacrifice before slaughter.
2. Dead Sacrifice. After slaughter the carcass is offered for sacrifice.
3. Cooked Sacrifice. The meat is cooked and then offered for sacrifice.

The above three steps are essential in the sacrificial rites of the Lolo people.

After the cooked sacrifice the food was partaken of at a meal on the spot.I was invited to the picnic. We all did our best to finish up a roasted piglet, because the food offered in the outdoor sacrifice might not be brought back home for fear that the evil spirits might come back with it.

After supper darkness had already enveloped the earth; therefore, torches were lit for the evening ceremony. Shortly, the Pai-mao picked up the cypress wand and standing amidst the planted sticks, began to recite the liturgies aloud. He held in one hand several straw rings, with one of which he stroked the mistress of the family from head to foot, calling her by her name so as to rid her of bad luck. Then he hung the ring on the chi-tsu so that her misfortune, now gathered in the ring, would be taken over by the effigy. This rite was repeated on each and every member of the family. Next the Pai-mao took a rice spoon, into which the members of the family all expectorated, indicating that their misfortunes and diseases had all been spat out. The saliva was poured

757 distance and the hazardous mountain journey, nor would they go to Ch'êng-chiang for medical treatment. And so in case of illness most of them still wait for the will of Heaven, either for spontaneous recovery or for the arrival of
763 the death spirit. Shortly before death, the sick person is removed from the bedroom to the front hall, where he is dressed in burial clothes to await his end. After death, messages are sent around to relatives and neighbors for them to come and help in post-mortem arrangements. If the deceased person is a woman, then her family has to be notified; otherwise there could be complaints from that direction.

[787] (2) Funeral. When an old man dies, within
764 the following two or three days the head of the family would consult a wizard priest or a "Yin Yang" specialist in Ch'êng-chiang for an auspicious day for the funeral. When the date is set the villagers are notified, and every family sends a young male member to help in funeral affairs such as moving the body, carrying the coffin, and building a funeral pyre. All those villagers younger than the deceased would come to burn incense and offer sacrifices to the departed spirit and to accompany the funeral cortege, which is led by a Taoist priest and two impersonated devils, one male and one female, wearing strange clothes and masks, followed by a few minor devils, beating drums and playing music. This procession is called "dispatching the Yin (spirit) lantern". Halfway along the journey the procession would halt, the drumming and music would cease, and the impersonated devils, who have fulfilled their functions, would stop parading. At the same time the female mourners would also discard their robes of mourning and squat on the spot to rest. The rest of the party would then proceed to the cremation ground or the burial ground. If the de-

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

what causes the disease. Most of the Chinese and aboriginals are terribly afraid of it, and sometimes take very drastic measures to get rid of it. In a home not far from mine, a husband was taken with leprosy. One night his friends made him dead drunk with the local samshu, and then placed him in one of the flimsily built outhouses. The outhouse was then set on fire, and the drunken leper was burnt to death. All over the West of China cases of leprosy are constantly met with, and the Government has done absolutely nothing to cope with the terrible disease. In fact, in presence of the great diseases which are such a scourge to humanity, China has been almost powerless, and has trusted far more to wizards' incantations than to sanitary or medical reforms. The way in which, at the end of the Manchu dynasty, some of her brightest sons, backed up by full official aid, fought the dreaded bubonic plague, when it invaded Manchuria, gives high hopes that before long this same class of foreign-trained students will fight hard and successfully to lighten the great burden of disease which presses so heavily and disastrously on the people all over the country.

The fact that in Nosuland practically no notice is taken of medicines, and that all diseases are put down to the evil influence of demons, makes the position of the wizards a most important one. Whatever be the disease, the wizard is called in to cast out the demon of that particular disease. The ceremony of driving away the demon of disease is called Kwei-ha. The wizard comes, with all his paraphernalia, to the house where the sick person is. One of the first things he does is to make the invalid breathe on an egg. Then, by means of incantations, the wizard compels the demon of the disease to enter the egg, where it assumes its proper

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

787 shape, and can be recognised by the wizard. He then cuts open the egg and makes a careful examination. From this he can tell what colour of animal, whether ox, sheep or fowl, is needed to be killed, as an offering to the demon. I expect personal preference of the wizard has a lot to do with the colour and kind of animal needed to persuade the demon to depart. I remember a missionary who was travelling among some of these tribes in another part of West China. He found it very difficult to eat and digest the coarsely cooked meat and meal of these people. Whenever it was a fowl for supper he got on fairly well, and at last he used to pray every day that when supper came it might be fowl, and not tough sheep or goat. I expect the state of the wizard's digestion in some way or other influenced the colour and shape of the animal discovered in the auspices of the egg.

When the diagnosis of the egg has been completed the wizard makes a rough effigy of grass, and rubs this up and down the body of the patient, repeating his charms as he does so. In this way the demon is compelled to leave the patient entirely, and enter the straw man. With due ceremony this straw man is then escorted into the open, and the demon is commanded to be off. As his fee for this ceremony, the wizard gets a leg and the skin of the animal which is killed, or sacrificed to the demon of the disease. Seeing ox-skins have become very valuable these last few years, it is no wonder that the wizards are glad when the life of such an animal is taken to grease the departure of the disturbing demon.

791 The profession of wizard is fairly profitable, but it is also not without considerable danger. I realised this one night when I saw a wizard sitting at the back of the house, sheltered